

Message Text

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70

ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AID-05 EB-07 CIEP-02

TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 IO-11 ACDA-10 /105 W

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O R 142220Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 930

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 3287

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO ALL ARAB CAPITALS

EO 11652: NA

TAGS: PFOR PINT EG

SUBJECT: SADAT SPEECH: MARCH 14

1. SUMMARY.. MAJOR BOMBSHELL IN SADAT'S SPEECH WAS RECOMMENDATION TO PEOPLES ASSEMBLY THAT 1971 SOVIET-EGYPTIAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY BE REPUDIATED, WHICH WAS ACCOMPANIED BY UNRESTRAINED ATTACK ON SOVIETS. ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, SADAT REJECTED POLITICAL PARTIES AND CALLED FOR FORMATION OF THREE "FORUMS"-- RIGHT, LEFT AND CENTER UNDER UMBRELLA OF ASU. SADAT STRONGLY CRITICIZED IRRESPONSIBILITY OF EGYPTIAN PRESS AND CALLED FOR REORGANIZATION THAT WOULD BRING "NEW GENERATION" OF JOURNALISTS TO POSITIONS OF RESPONSIBILITY. HE STRONGLY DENIED ALLEGATIONS OF NEW MILLIONAIRES AND LARGE COMMISSIONS RESULTING FROM ECONOMIC OPEN-DOOR POLICY. WHILE DEFENDING INTEGRITY OF NASSER, SADAT WAS STRONGLY CRITICAL OF FORMER AHRAH EDITOR HAYKAL WITHOUT NAMING HIM. PRESIDENT HAD HIGH WORDS OF PRAISE FOR ARMED FORCES, BUT MADE CLEAR THAT THEIR DUTY IS TO SAFEGUARD CONSTITUTION AND NOT TO INTERFERE WITH ANYTHING ELSE. ON ECONOMIC POLICY, SADAT PRAISED ARAB STATES FOR RECENT FINAINCIL PLEDGES, BUT SAID FOR FIRST TIME

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THAT EGYPT FACES PERIOD OF AUSTERITY OVER NEXT FIVE YEARS,

WHICH WILL COINCIDE WITH NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN. PRIMIN SALIM WAS GIVEN CREDIT FOR BEING FIRST TO BRING "CALAMITY" OF EGYPT'S ECONOMIC SITUATION TO SADAT'S NOTICE. ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WITHOUT ATTACKING ANY STATES BY NAME, SADAT RIDICULED MANEUVERINGS AND SLOGANEERING OF THOSE ARABS WHO HAVE DESTROYED ARAB UNITY HE SUCCEEDED IN BUILDING PRIOR TO OCTOBER WAR. HE TOOK CREDIT FOR ENHANCING REPUTATION OF EGYPT AND ARABS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND CALLED UPON OTHERARABS FOR UNITY AND ACHIEVEMENTS THAT WILL ENABLE ARAB NATION TO PLAY ITS ROLE AS SIXTH POWER. ON US, SADAT SAID NO ARAB NATIONALIST COULD RESIST OPPORTUNITY TO ELIMINATE HISTORIC ISRAELI BIAS IN US POLICY AND HE WOULD NOT APOLOGIZE FOR HAVING SEIZED THIS OPPORTUNITY SINCE US CONTINUES TO HOLD 99 PERCENT OF CARDS IN ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. SADAT SAVED SOVIETS FOR LAST AND, EMPHASIZING GRAVITY OF PROBLEM, HE ACCUSED SOVIETS OF PLAYING CAT-AND-MOUSE GAME WITH BOTH NASSER AND HIMSELF. HE SAID MOSCOW HAD REFUSED RESUPPLY ARMS OR RESCHEDULE DEBTS AND WAS DEMANDING THAT EGYPT EVEN PAY INTEREST ON WAR DEBTS. CROWNING BLOW WAS SOVIET REFUSAL TO ALLOW INDIA TO OVERHAUL OR SUPPLY SPARE PARTS FOR MIG-21S. TO CHEERS OF ASSEMBLY, SADAT SAID MOSCOW PRESSURE IS TO BRING EGYPT TO ITS KNEES BUT "I FALL ON MY KNEES ONLY BEFORE GOD." SADAT THEN ASKED ASSEMBLY TO RESCIND 1971 TREATY. END SUMMARY..

2. PRESIDENT SADAT SPOKE TO A COMBINED PEOPLES ASSEMBLY/ARAB SOCIALIST UNION AUDIENCE EVENING MARCH 14. PRESIDENT, WHO SPOKE FOR THREE HOURS, BEGAN WITH DOMESTIC POLITICAL AFFAIRS:

A. FORUMS (MINBARS). SADAT COMMENDED COMPREHENSIVE WORK OF ASU COMMITTEE ON FUTURE OF POLITICAL ACTION. AFTER CITING NECESSITY OF RESOLVING CONFLICT BETWEEN GENUINE DEMOCRACY AND STABILITY AND OF ADHERING TO MAJORITY OPINION, SADAT SAID FOUR BASIC CONCLUSIONS HAD BEEN APPROVED BY MAJORITY:

1) IMPERATIVE THAT ALLIANCE OF PEOPLES WORKING FORCES MAINTAIN 50 PERCENT PARTICIPATION BY WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN ALL POLITICAL BODIES:

2) COMPLETE REJECTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES SINCE THEY
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WOULD NOT BE OF SUFFICIENT MATURITY:

3) ESTABLISHMENT OF FORUMS WHICH WOULD ATTRACT MASSES AND WOULD STUDY PROBLEM TO PRESENT CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM; AND

4) THREE FORUMS ONLY--RIGHT, LEFT AND CENTER, THE LATTER BEING THE BASIC FORUM. THESE WILL BE UNDER UMBRELLA OF ASU.

ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE GREETED THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE HOPED ALL THREE MINBARS WOULD PROVIDE CANDIDATES AND PROGRAMS IN UPCOMING ELECTIONS (AUTUMN 1976). PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC, HE STRESSED, SHOULD EXERT NO INFLUENCE ON THE MINBARS.

B. PEOPLES ASSEMBLY. PRESIDENT GAVE SCARCELY VEILED CAUTION TO AUDIENCE, WARNING AGAINST IRRESPONSIBILITY OF UNFOUNDED CHARGES AIRED IN PEOPLES ASSEMBLY WHICH JEOPARDIZES PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY. QUOTING VARIOUS EXAMPLES, INCLUDING ALLEGATIONS THAT THERE ARE 500 MILLIONAIRES IN EGYPT AND THAT LE TWO BILLION IN COMMISSIONS HAVE BEEN ILLEGALLY GARNERED, PRESIDENT SAID THESE ARE UNACCEPTABLE SINCE THEY ARE UNTRUE.

C. PRESS. PRESIDENT SPOKE OUT STRONGLY AGAINST SIMILAR IRRESPONSIBILITY WHICH HE COMPLAINED NOW CHARACTERIZES EGYPTIAN PRESS, WHICH HAS ENVENOMED ATMOSPHERE AT HOME AND AFFECTED EGYPT ADVERSELY ABROAD. JOURANLISTS HAVE AIRED GRUDGES, OLD FEUDS AND SOUGHT PERSONAL FAME. PRESS SHOULD BE REORGANIZED COMPLETELY UNDER EXISTING HIGHER PRESS COMMITTEE, ALTHOUGH 51 PERCENT ASU-49 PERCENT WORKER OWNERSHIP SHOULD BE RETAINED AND CENSORSHIP SHOULD NOT BE RE-INTRODUCED. "NEW GENERATION" SHOULD CONTROL THE PRESS (COMMENT: AU REVOIR TO THE AMINS). AS HE SAID RE PEOPLES ASSEMBLY, PRESIDENT SAID PRESS IS DESTROYING OUR FAITH IN OURSELVES. AS SPECIFIC EXAMPLE, HE CITED AKHBAR AL-YAWM CHARGE THAT NASSER HAD STOLEN \$15 MILLION, A CHARGE SADAT SAID WHICH IS TOTALLY UNFOUNDED. PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED INTEGRITY OF NASSER IS BEYOND QUESTION; NASSER WROTE GLORIOUS CHAPTERS OF THE HISTORY OF EGYPT AND THE ARAB WORLD.

D. NASSER. PRESIDENT, AS HAS BEEN HIS HABIT, LEAPT TO DEFENSE OF NASSER, PILLARING HAMAMSI (OF AKHBAR AL-YAWM) BY NAME AS A MAN WITH GRUDGE. BUT, ALTHOUGH SADAT IN SPEECHES HAS ALWAYS LENT SUPPORT TO NASSER'S MEMORY, HE HAS ALWAYS ALSO EMPHASIZED

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HIS OWN ACHIEVEMENTS AND EMPHASIZED "FACT" THAT HE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL NASSER HAS DONE. THUS, WHILE MAKING CLEAR THAT NASSER WAS HIS DEAREST FRIEND, PRESIDENT ALSO TOOK CLEAR BACKHANDED BLOW AT HIS MEMORY BY ATTACKING HAYKAL, A "CENTER OF POWER WHICH NASSER HIMSELF CREATED." HE BLAMED HAYKAL DIRECTLY FOR CONTRIBUTING TO "WELL-DESIGNED CAMPAIGN OF DOUBT", WHICH HE SAID HAS BEEN GENERATED AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT AND AGAINST HIMSELF PERSONALLY.

3. PRESIDENT SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL COMMENT WHAT HE CALLED TWO POLITICAL INSITUCTIONS WITH VITAL ROLE:

A. ARMED FORCES. ROLE OF ARMED FORCES WITHIN ALLIANCE OF PEOPLES WORKING FORCES IS BASED ON THEIR SPECIAL SACRIFICE IN FIELD OF HONOR AND CONSITUTUTES THEIR SAFEGUARDING OF THE PERMENENT CONSTITUTION. CONSTITUTION IS SACRED AND ITS

PROTECTION IS GREAT NATIONAL MISSION. NO ONE, AS SADAT HAD EXPLAINED DURING WW II TO MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, CAN DOMINATE ARMED FORCES, WHICH BELONG TO PEOPLE. "THOSE WHO TRIED TO PUSH ARMED FORCES TOWARD TRENDS WHICH WERE NOT THERE" HAVE BEEN STYMIED (COMMENT: PRESIDENT WAS AMBIGUOUS, BUT HE MAY HAVE MEANT SOVIETS). IN POINTED CONCLUSION, PRESIDENT SAID ARMED FORCES' DUTY IS TO SAFEGUARD CONSTITUTION, "NOT TO INTERFERE IN ANYTHING ELSE WHATSOEVER."

B. POSITION OF PRESIDENT. APPARENTLY RESPONDING TO RECOMMENDATIONS AIRED IN PRESS AND PEOPLES ASSEMBLY THAT US-STYLE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SHOULD BE INSTITUTED; PRESIDENT SAID IT IS NOT BAD TO HAVE A CONTEST WITHIN THE ASU AS THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES, BUT US-STYLE ELECTIONS ARE UNSUITABLE FOR EGYPT. HEAD OF STATE MUST BE ARBITER, NOT TAKE SIDES. HE IS HEAD OF A FAMILY. PRESIDENT STRESSED PRACTICE IS AS IMPORTANT AS WRITTEN LAW AND HEAD OF STATE AS WELL AS ALL

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 931

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

UNCLAS FINAL SECTION OF 2 CAIRO 3287

DEPT PLS PASS TO ALL ARAB CAPITALS

EGYPTIANS MUST BE SURE THE CONSTITUTION DOES NOT BECOME INK ON PAPER. AS EXAMPLE, HE RECALLED NASSER HIMSELF HAD NEVER INTENDED NATIONAL CHARTER TO BE INTERPRETED AS MARXIST DOCUMENT.

4. ECONOMIC SITUATION. SADAT SAID SINCE 1973 EGYPT HAS SUFFERED FROM INCREASED COST OF IMPORTS AND ATTEMPTED TO MAINTAIN PRICE OF GOODS FOR WORKERS WHICH HAS LED TO LARGE DEFICIT IN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS. BY 1975 DEFICIT HAD BECOME EVEN GREATER. NEW POLICIES NEEDED AT LEAST UNTIL INCREASED REVENUE FROM OIL AND SUEZ CANAL BECOMES AVAILABLE. SADAT SAID ONLY AFTER MAMDUH SALIM BECAME PRIME MINISTER WAS HE GIVEN DETAILED PICTURE OF CALAMITY EGYPT FACES; PERHAPS THOSE WHO PRECEDED HIM ONLY WANTED TO BE NICE. HE PROFESSED TO HAVE BEEN SURPRISED BY SALIM'S PRESENTATION AND SAID HE BROUGHT FOREIGN EXPERTS IN TO EVALUATE ECONOMY. PRIOR TO OCTOBER 73 SADAT SAID HE COULD NOT ASK ANYONE FOR AID. ARAB STATES WOULD ONLY ASK "WHEN ARE YOU GOING TO FIGHT ISRAEL?" HE EXPRESSED UNCLASSIFIED

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DEEPEST GRATITUDE TO ARAB STATES JUST VISITED AND SAID THEY NOT ONLY WILLING TO PROVIDE LONG-TERM LOANS AND PARTICIPATE IN JOINT VENTURES, BUT IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE AS WELL. NEVERTHELESS, THIS AID WILL NOT RESULT IN "EXTRA CAKES," EGYT MUST GO ON AUSTERITY PROGRAM FOR NEXT FIVE YEARS WHICH WILL COINCIDE WITH NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN TO BE PRESENTED IN TWO-MONTHS TIME. SADAT PRESENTED FULL BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DATA TO SPEAKER OF ASSEMBLY AND SAID PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO PROVIDE DETAILED EXPLANATIONS.

5. FOLLOWING TWO HOURS ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, PRESIDENT TURNED TO INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS:

A. ARAB WORLD. WITHOUT MENTIONING EITHER JORDAN OR LIBYA, AND WITH ONLY PASSING MENTION OF SYRIA, SADAT COMPLAINED AGAINST CERTAIN ARAB MANEUVERINGS TO FRUSTRATE FACT THAT AFTER OCTOBER WAR ARAB WORLD EMERGED AS SIXTH WORLD POWER. THESE MANEUVERERS WILL, IN LONG RUN, BE PULLED DOWN, FOR THEY ARE ACTING AGAINST THEMSELVES. EGYPT BEARS RESPONSIBILITY FOR HISTORIC ARAB MISSION BECAUSE OF HER (A) FURNISHING OF EXAMPLE, AND (B) ABILITY. ON FIRST POINT, SADAT STRESSED EGYPTIAN HERITAGE IMPOSES TOLERANCE, WHICH MAKES POSSIBLE EGYPT PROVIDING EXAMPLE OF POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS-IDEOLOGICAL TOLERANCE. EGYPT BELIEVES IN ARAB UNITY, NOT HOLLOW SLOGANS, AND ONLY REAL UNITY MUST COME IN STAGES AND LEAD TO REAL DEMOCRACY. (COMMENT: IMPLICATION IS SYRIAN-JORDANIAN UNITY IS NOT OF THIS MODEL). EGYPT MADE CANAL CROSSING POSSIBLE BY TURNING ARAB STRIFE INTO UNANIMITY. EGYPT WILL BE CAREFUL TO REMAIN TOLERANT AND PROVIDE EXAMPLE, FOR EGYPT IS "QIBLA" OF ALL ARABS. AS FOR EGYPT'S ABILITY, PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED PAST ACHIEVEMENTS, NOTING TRUE MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE,

NOT FRAIL MANEUVERING, IS WHAT MATTERS.

B. LAMENTING THAT SOME ARABS SAY EGYPT HAS BEEN ISOLATED, SADAT REITERATED HE HAD BROUGHT ARAB WORLD TOGETHER IN TWO YEARS BEFORE OCTOBER WAR AND HE WON INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ARAB EFFORT; EGYPT ENDED NO WAR-NO-PEACE, TERMINATED ISRAELI MONOPOLY IN US ARENA, AND OPENED EUROPEAN ARMS MARKETS THUS ENDING (SOVIETS') ARMS MONOPOLY. FURTHER, HE STRESSED, EGYPT HAS SHIFTED ARAB FRUSTRATIONS TO ISRAELIS AND HAS PUSHED PALESTINIAN CAUSE. AT SAME TIME, EGYPT HAS ESCHewed ANY INTERFERENCE IN ARAB DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, "NO MATTER HOW UNCLASSIFIED

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ATTRACTIVE" SUCH INTERFERENCE MIGHT SEEM (COMMENT: READ IN LIBYA) AND HAS SOUGHT AFRICAN SUPPORT FOR ARABS. ABOVE ALL, "INITIATIVE IS STILL IN EGYPT'S HANDS," AND EGYPT IS NOT ISOLATED.

6. ON US, SADAT WAS BRIEF, MAKING POINT STRONGLY THAT FOR 25 YEARS ISRAEL'S GREATEST WEAPON WAS PRO-GOI BIAS IN US. EGYPT'S ABILITY TO ARRANGE OCTOBER WAR CHANGED OLD US VIEW THAT ISRAEL WAS INVINCIBLE, AND THUS US CAME TO EGYPT. ARAB HOSTILITY TO US WAS NOT IDEOLOGICALLY BASED BUT CAME FROM "CIRCUMSTANCES SUCH AS LAVON AFFAIR AND BEN GURION SECURITY THEORY. NO ARAB NATIONALIST COULD TURN DOWN OPPORTUNITY TO SHIFT US AWAY FROM PRO-ISRAELI BIAS. FURTHERMORE, "WHETHER SOVIETS ARE UPSET WITH ME FOR SAYING IT OR NOT," 99 PERCENT OF CARDS ARE IN US HANDS.

7. USSR POSITION, PRESIDENT SAID, IS VERY GRAVE. SOVIETS, HE CHARGED, HAVE SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH PLATFORMS AND AXES IN ARAB WORLD AGAINST US. QADHAFI, FOR EXAMPLE, WHO USED TO RAGE AGAINST ATHEISTS AND NEO-COLONIALISTS, IS NOW GOOD FRIEND OF MOSCOW. SOVIETS SEEK NEW STRIFE IN ARAB WORLD AND SEEK, NOT TO PROMOTE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, BUT TO FORWARD SOVIET NATIONAL INTERESTS--QADHAFI IS PAYING CASH.

8. PRESIDENT, IN ENDEAVORING ILLUSTRATE SOVIETS ARE BOTH AGAINST ME PEACE AND AGAINST HIM, RELATED NUMEROUS EXAMPLES, INCLUDING EVIDENCE THAT SOVIETS OBJECTED IN 1971 TO HIS ECONOMIC POLICY, NOT AS THEY CLAIM ONLY AFTER 1974 OPEN-DOOR PROCLAMATION. FURTHER, THEY LAMENT NASSER AFTER INSULTING HIM IN POST-1967 WAR PERIOD.

9. IN SHORT, PRESIDENT SAID, FOR PAST TWO YEARS MOSCOW HAS REFUSED RESUPPLY ARMS OR RESCHEDULE DEBTS AND EVEN DEMAND INTEREST ON WAR DEBTS, THOUGH MOSCOW HAS NOT REPAID ITS DEBTS TO US, AND SUCH DEBTS ARE NOT USUALLY PAID. THIS AT TIME WHEN EGYPT SEEKS FINANCIAL HELP CONSORTIUM OF FRG, US, JAPAN AND FRANCE.

10. CROWNING EXAMPLE, ANNOUNCED DRAMATICALLY BY SADAT, IS SOVIET REFUSAL TO ALLOW INDIA OVERHAUL OR SUPPLY SPARE PARTS FOR EGYPTIAN MIG-21S, WHICH INDIA HAD CONVEYED IN UNCLASSIFIED

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MESSAGE TEN DAYS AGO. IT IS CLEAR MOSCOW WANTS ECONOMIC AND MILITARY PRESSURE TO BUILD UP AGAINST EGYPT TO BRING GOE TO ITS KNEES--"I FALL ON MY KNEES ONLY BEFORE GOD."

11. IN MESSAGES, PRESIDENT COMPLAINED, SOVIETS USED 1971 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION AS PRETEXT. IF THIS IS THEIR CONCEPTION OF HONORING A TREATY, THEN TREATY IS SIMPLY "PIECE OF PAPER". PRESIDENT ASKED ASSEMBLY, WHICH HAD ENDORSED TREATY, TO END IT AND READ PRESIDENTIAL DECREE SO REQUESTING. ASSEMBLY RESPONDED WARMLY WITH SHOUTS OF "LET'S DO IT NOW." SADAT ALSO PRESENTED TO SPEAKER ALL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND SOVIETS LEADERS FOR ASSEMBLY TO STUDY.

PRESIDENT ENDED HIS REMARKS WITH REQUEST THAT INTERNAL FEUDS AND GRUDGES BE LAID ASIDE.

COMMENT BY SEPTEL.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TREATY TERMINATION, ARMED FORCES, FOREIGN RELATIONS, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, THE PRESS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976CAIRO03287
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760096-0810
From: CAIRO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760362/aaaaccyr.tel
Line Count: 360
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: wolfsd
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 JUL 2004 by vandyklc>; APPROVED <25 AUG 2004 by wolfsd>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SADAT SPEECH: MARCH 14
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, MARR, EG, UR, XF, (SADAT, ANWAR)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006